1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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1. Women return in the evening after the day's digging and gathering of wild roots and berries

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2. A husband, wife, and their son at their family fire cooking their supper of two wild roots which the wife brought. Her genital apron is a fine one ornamented with beads

[p. 348-A]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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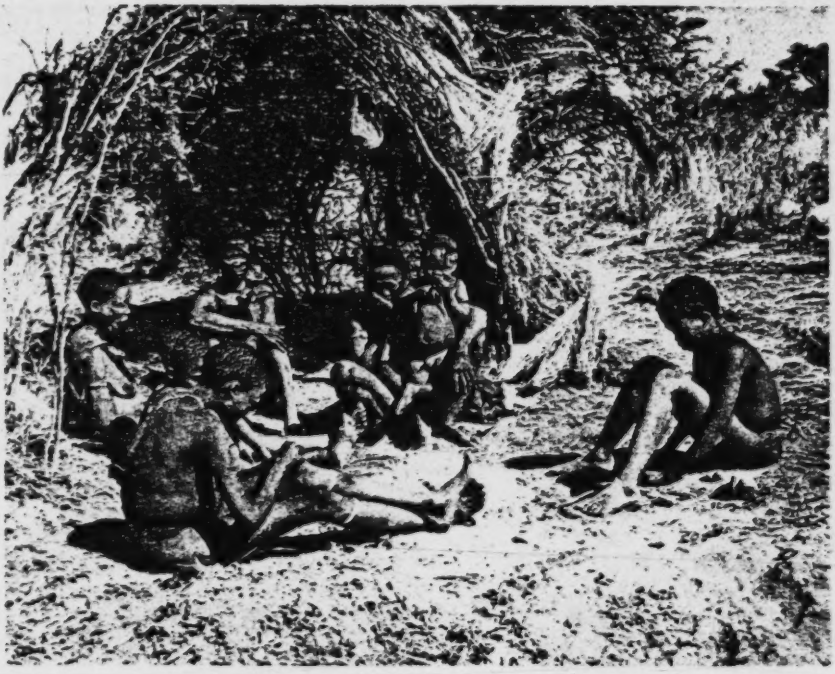

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3. Gau (centre) with his two wives in front of their scherm. The younger second wife, Khuan//a, holds her son in her arms. The three boys in front are the sons of Be, the first wife, at Gau's right

4. /Ti/kay in the best of moods

[p. 348-B]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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5. The two wives of /Ti/kay sit at their family fire, /Naoka the elder sister to the left, /Nai the younger, with her son on her lap, to the right. Between them are Bau, /Naoka's daughter, already married for two years, and /Goishay, their old mother

6. /Nai, the young bride, the morning after the wedding. showing the design painted on her face by her mother with powdered red stone and fat

[p. 348-C]

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7. The wedding scherm, the morning after the wedding. To the right are /Gunda, the bridegroom, and one of the boys who attended him, playing the //guashi. /Nai is to the left with her two attendants beside her. Tsamgao has gone to sit by the girls instead of remaining on the men's side.

8. ≠Toma the leader

[p. 348-D]

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[379] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

301 Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
531 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

264 Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morning, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

262 There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten. The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

266 I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Furthermore, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/140 cont./

I spoke with a number of elderly Auin about this, and they 266 were by no means indignant at the suggestion. Their reasoning was approximately the following: "Our parents never told us one should eat human flesh. If other old people were to enjoy it, then we could do it also."

In view of the low cultural level of the Bushmen, the absence of anthropophagy is, in my opinion, very striking.

D. Ornaments and Hairdressing

● 301 The following ornaments were observed.

Among men:

Neck ring, a thin wooden ring made from the so-called rosinkis bush and tied together to form a circle, decorated with lines scratched on it. Arm rings. Three to 20 simple braided rings (see Photos. 3 and 4). The iron beads probably come from [439] the eastern Kaffir tribes. The rings are made from the web of a [237] tree spider (Stegodyphus dumicola Pocock?). A number of strings are bunched together in a ball, and this is "noodled" with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh into strings of the approximate thickness of a knitting needle. The strings are then wound together in pairs and the ring is closed by "noodling together."

Rings around the wrists. The same rings as those worn on the upper arm. In addition, simple rings three to five millimeters wide, made of game leather, as well as individual rings made of [439] iron or copper wire. The latter are said to have been bartered from Batauana.

Lower leg. Some men and women wear one or two leather rings directly below the knee on one or both legs. These leather rings are somewhat wider than the leather rings around the wrists (see Photos. 12 and 14).

Among women:

Head ornaments. Various combinations of chains of ostrich egg shells, as shown in Photograph 20. Sometimes only a piece of such a Molentza chain is braided into the hair of the forehead (see Photo. 36, woman dancing on the left). I also found this ornament on one man.

/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

[756] The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

[882] Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after their first menses.

[796] All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 [756] [301] The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose ostrich feathers in the hair, while the women like to braid brass or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

[386] The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

[142] Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

Auen

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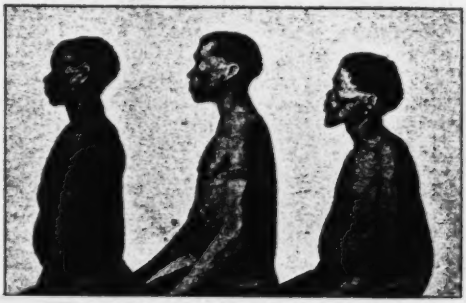
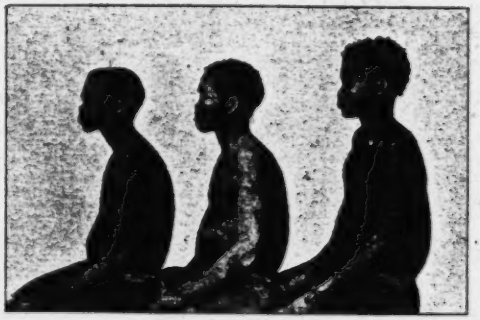
Photo. 2 [see Photo. 1]
ǂAuin from Olifantskluft

●[301]



Age about 45 50 35 years
Photo. 4 [see Photo. 3]



Age about 17 25 22 years
Photo. 6 [see Photo. 5]
ǂAuin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

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●[301]

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 7

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 9

Photo. 11

≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

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≠Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Age about 22 30 35 years

Photo. 8 [see Photo. 7]

≠Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 10 [see Photo. 9]

Photo. 12
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

● 301

Photo. 20.
Chains of Ostrich Egg Shells as Ornaments.

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Photo. 22.
Children's Clothing.

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Photo. 24.
Use of the Digging Stick (digging up veld food).

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Auen

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 25.

a through d, see p. 20; e, quiver; f, digging stick; g, bow; h, throwing lance; i, cover for the lance point.

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Photo. 27.
Clothing and Equipment.

Auen

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Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 26 [see Photo. 25]

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Photo. 28 [see Photo. 27] Clothing and Equipment.

!KUNG

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire 291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich ● 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around [306] the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[38 cont.]

412 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown
415 in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

●301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[752] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
681 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

NAAON
IAUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301 789 303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

582 ǂAuin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old, girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

≠AUIN NAGAU

[72 cont.] THE SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do violence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

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Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent.
606 It is curious to note how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids his mother-in-law's company and does not sit with her. For example, when he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law goes away. If it is absolutely necessary for him to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.
163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

[77 cont.]

291 in the north, but they have far more ostrich egg pearls.
[301]

11. Weapons

The ≠Auin have the throwing lance; the digging stick is
411 occasionally also used for striking and as a throwing club. The
[439] lance points are bartered from Ngami Lake. The upper end of the shaft is bound with a strip of antelope skin or tendons. The shaft tapers off toward the end. The lance points are distinguished as male and female. The male points have blunt barbs. The points are often provided with a leather cap. The lance points also serve as a knife and universal instrument. The spear points are kept well hidden. Among the Naron, spears
411 are very rare today; they are ob-
439 tained from Ovamboland in exchange for chains of ostrich egg beads. The same is true of the Nogau, who, however, obtain their spear points in part from the Ovambo and in part from the Okawango by way of the !Kung.

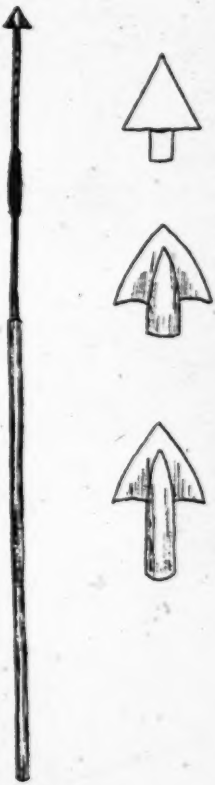

Fig. 27. Arrows of the Nogau.

The bow of the ≠Auin is small;
411 the string is twisted out of animal
[283] tendons and is pushed up on one side and fastened on the other. The arrows are made of reed. At the bottom of the shaft there is a shallow notch, and the end is wound with grass. Similarly, we find a notch at the upper end where the point is inserted. The length of the arrow shaft is from 48 to 52 centimeters. The points are made either of iron or bone; in the latter case ostrich bones are used. The bone arrowhead is pointed at both ends, one of which is inserted

3: Lebzelter--163 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Plate V. !Kung Bushmen from the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

3: Lebzelter--164 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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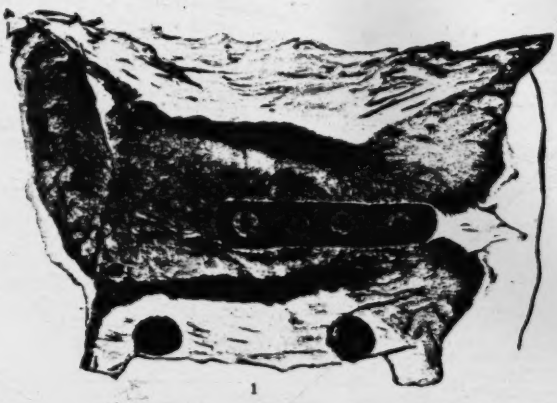

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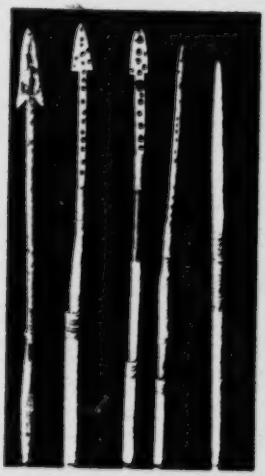

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Plate VI

1. Back Apron (Betschuana), 2. Neck Band (Bushmen), 3. Grass Armbands, 4. Fly Swatters (!Kung), 5. Hide Sack (Kaunas Hottentot), (Museum for Ethnology, Berlin).

6. Bushman Arrows (Cape Province ?) (Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart).

3: Lebzelter--166 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Plate VIII. Children of the !Kung Bushmen.

3: Lebzelter--168 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Plate X. !Kung Types from the Otjimpolo Veld.

/241 cont./

128 Tables giving all the /242/ measurements for each individual, are attached, as are forms for the observations concerning the descriptive characteristics of the individuals measured.

141 The average values for the adults measured are as follows:

	Men	Women
1. Body height	155.3	149.7
2. Height of the chin above the ground	135.7	130.6

[142] [291] [301] [342] [516]

Fig. 1. Heikum Bushmen. Men.

3. Height of the navel above the ground	93.2	90.4
4. Height of the upper edge of the symphysis above the ground	82.2	79.6

/Fig. 1 appears here./

5. Height of the acromion above the ground	130.5	124.9
6. Height of the elbow joint above the ground	99.9	96.5
7. Height of the projection of the radius above the ground	76.0	73.4

/247 cont./

144 conclusive evidence /248/ against any notion of racial kinship between the Bushmen and the Hottentot.

142 The arms are thin and not very muscular; the hands are small and very delicate. In contrast to the musculature of the arms, that of the legs is better developed. The arch of the foot is good; only in one case did I observe flat feet.

The big toe is pointed straight and shows neither a deviation

[291]
[301]
[516]

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

toward the median line of the foot nor one away from it.

In most cases the second toe extends farthest, but in two cases it was exceeded by the first toe. The second and first or second and third toe of some of the others examined extended the same distance. The following table gives more exact information on this matter:

/255 cont./

281 The hair is removed from the hides. After the skinning, the hides are stretched out on the ground for two days, exposed to the sun; then the hair is removed, and subsequently the juice of a red tuber is rubbed into the hides on the inside. After they have been prepared in this manner, they are buried in the ground for a longer period of time and are then ready for use.

291 Not infrequently the Bushmen wear sandals which they cut from antelope hide in the simplest manner imaginable. A leather sole is fastened with three thongs to a leather ring lying over the instep and drawn tight below the ankle. One thong runs between the first and the second toe, while the two others run inside and outside the foot.

301 The children go about quite naked. Despite this sparseness of clothing, the feeling for ornamentation finds full expression.

Many ornamental objects serve as amulets which are worn for a great variety of purposes. The women are more richly adorned than the men. Whereas the latter frequently content themselves with arm rings made of antelope leather, the women are usually overloaded with ornamental objects. One of the favorite women's ornaments is a necklace made of ostrich egg shells. The shells [321] are worked into small, approximately penny-sized circular disks which are pierced in the middle and strung on a leather thong. Arm and leg rings are made of the same materials.

In place of the little ostrich egg disks, colored glass beads [439] obtained in trade are frequently used for necklaces and arm rings. One sees many a woman walking along with a tortoise-shell box hanging on her chest, /256/ which is decorated with bead-studded leather strips and used as a container for tobacco.

Pierced pieces of root, distinguished by natural rings notched at regular intervals, are strung on leather thongs for necklaces.

224 I found the following ornamental objects which simultaneously
301 served the function of an amulet:

1. Little pieces of dried antelope flesh are worn on the chest in the belief that the wearer will not lack meat to eat so long as he wears these guarantees.

2. The same significance is attached to dried antelope ears which are worn in a small leather bag on the chest.

/256 cont./

224 301 828 3. A piece of root wood, called /un /gei, is pierced and worn on a bast string on the chest. This little piece of root has its distinctive story. When the Bushmen are hunting and want a clear eye to see game, they scrape a bit off its surface and rub the powdery scrapings between the eyes and from there upward across the middle of the forehead to the hairline. They believe that they can increase their keenness of vision by this procedure. An experiment that I made with the powder produced no change on the skin that was treated and naturally did not have any visible effect on my keenness of vision.

301 787 4. Little wooden sticks which are used as oracular instruments, especially by the Kung people of the Kaukau Veld.

These are four wooden sticks which are strung on a string and worn on the chest. They are about as long as a finger and about two centimeters wide. Two of them are about as thick as a finger; the two others are only a few millimeters thick. One end of the sticks is cut off smooth, and the other pointed. These four sticks are questioned for all imaginable purposes. If the Bushman wants to know where game is, where he is to expect an enemy, or which route he is to take, he asks his sticks. He does so in the following manner. He spreads a piece of leather in front of him and crouches on the ground. Then he places all four sticks parallel and on top of one another in his left hand, the back of the hand being turned toward the ground. With a sudden jerk, accompanied by clicking the tongue, he throws the little sticks on the cloth; naturally, the sticks are scattered with their tips pointing in various directions. Depending on the matter at hand, each little stick signifies something special. When I had a Bushman captain in the Kaukau Veld consult his oracle concerning the fate of our patrol, one of the thick sticks in this throw signified the oxcart that accompanied the patrol. A lively argument concerning the significance of the sticks in a given case frequently arises between the consulter of the oracle and the spectator; finally, the view of the more respected of the two apparently wins out.

184 291 301 /257/ The clothing of the Kung people in the Kaukau Veld is essentially the same as that of the Heikum on the Omuramba ua omatako; even the ornaments do not show any great differences. Nevertheless, I was struck by certain peculiarities of the Kaukau people that I did not find among the Heikum.

/257 cont./

301 people that I did not find among the Heikum. The Kung of the Kaukau Veld had rings braided from wildebeest tail hairs as arm and neck ornaments, and had made similar arm and leg rings from twisted grass. Furthermore they wore strings of twisted bast criss-crossed over the chest in considerable numbers. In addition, in the Kaukau Veld I found neck rings of dried and braided antelope tendons and, in larger numbers than among the Heikum, copper, [439] brass, and iron rings. The latter are obtained by the Kung Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld through trade with the Ovambo [Ambo] and Betschuana [Tswana] in exchange for ostrich eggs and antelope hides.

415 Like their clothing, the house furnishings of the Bushmen are also very simple and quickly enumerated.

Wooden pans of various sizes, without handles, are generally found in every hut. For the pounding of food, the Bushmen use a cylindrical, mortar-like wooden vessel with thick walls and a [412] very strong bottom. A heavy staff about 30 centimeters long and four centimeters thick is used for pounding.

352 For chairs, they use wooden stools which by European standards are absurdly small. They consist of two circular wooden disks scarcely the size of a hand and joined by two wooden rods. They stand about ten centimeters high.

412 There are plenty of axes in the villages. They consist of small iron blades attached to thick wooden handles. The shape of the axe shows that the value of the iron necessitates frugal use of this valuable metal. The force of the blow, which in the case of European axes is produced by the weight of the iron part, is achieved by the Bushmen through a club-like enlargement of the wooden handle near the end of the axe. Side by side with axes that have a longitudinally-placed cutting edge, one also finds axes with a transverse cutting edge.

A common tool is the knife for removing hair from animal skins. This knife consists of a short, transverse iron blade imbedded in a wooden handle.

276 There are various kinds of tobacco pipes. The Bushmen, who find a leaf tobacco in the bush throughout the year, are experts at making an improvised pipe bowl from a root tubercle in the shortest possible time. Large pipes made of the end of a kudu horn

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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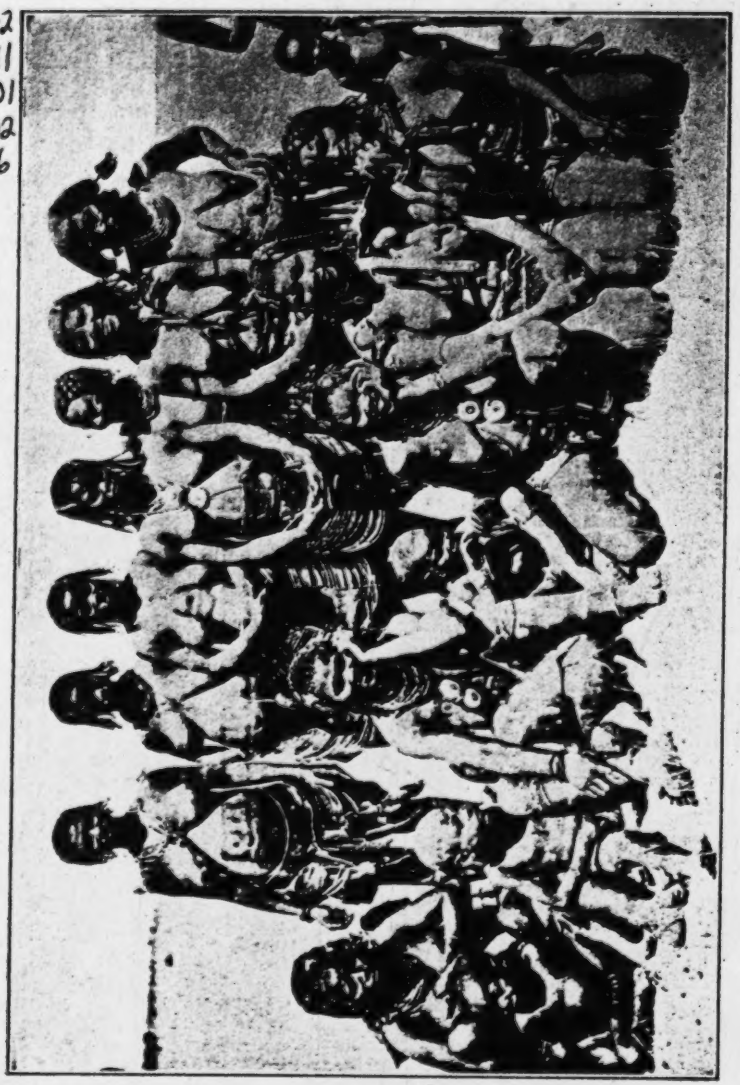

Wakeldi Women (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 81]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
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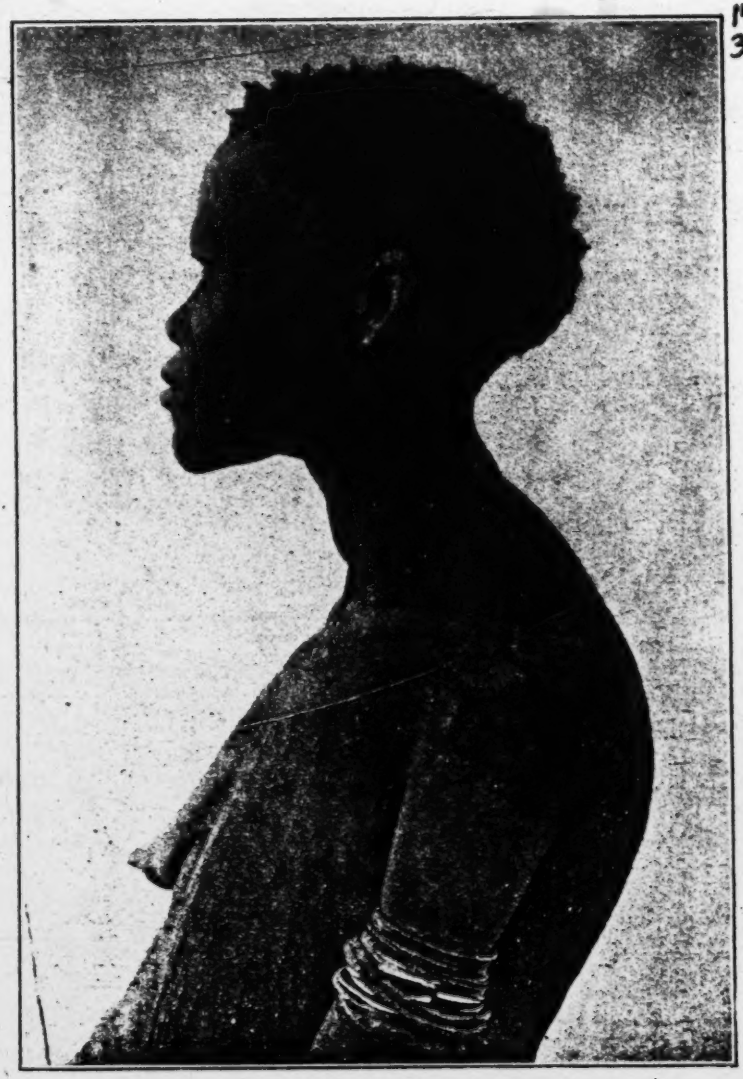

ǂAo //ein Bushwoman.
Epukiro.

[FACING p. 88A]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Naron (//aikwe) Woman in Ceremonial Dress of Ostrich Shell Beadwork.
Sandfontein, Gobabis.

[FACING p. 89]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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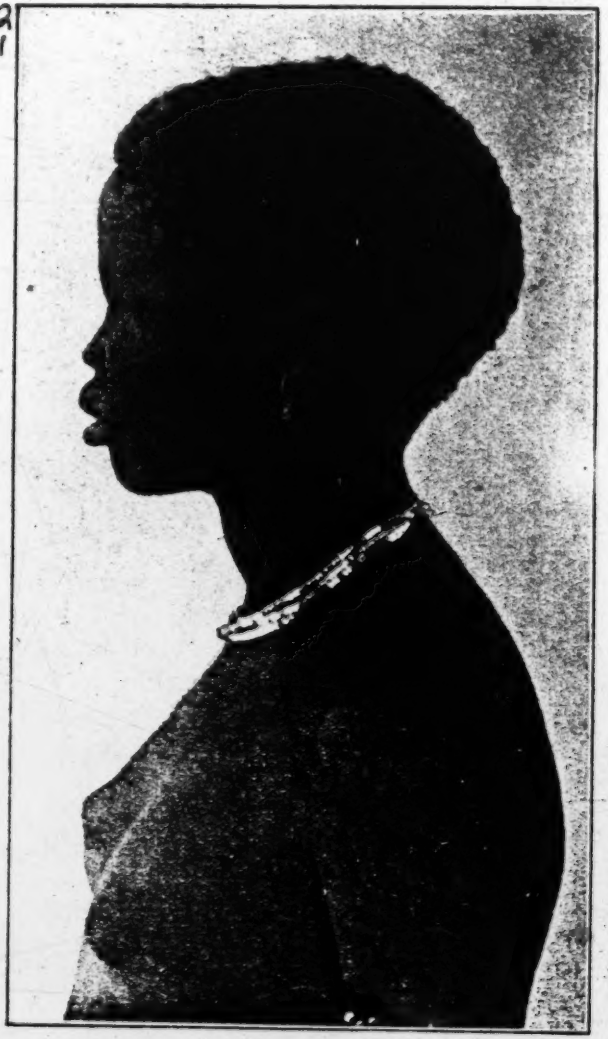

≠Ao //ein Maiden.
Epukiro.

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8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
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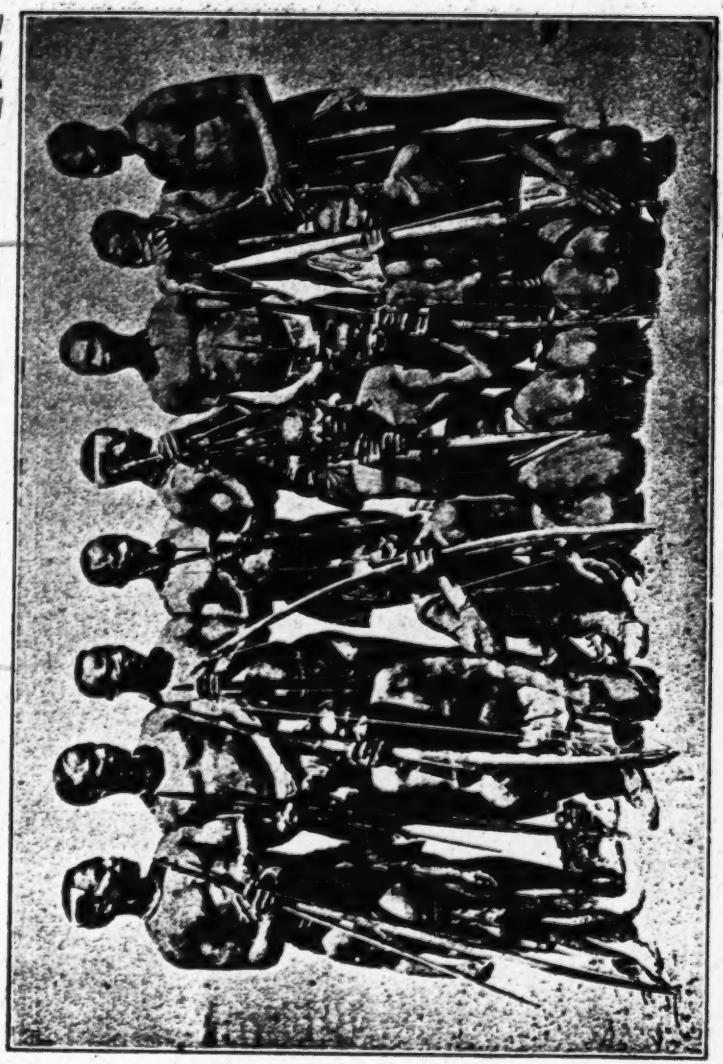

Wakeddi Bushmen (Hei //om).
S.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 100]

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The */Nu-//ĕin* and *//Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *ǂAo-//ĕin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich eggshells are used for carrying and storing water and for the manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time form the most important article of barter among the */Nu-//ĕin, Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-//om*. Among the most northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omuva* tree, are the principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and consequently they often seem younger than they are. They are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

136 the great veld fires had burned away the dry grass farther in the north, causing new green grass to spring up, luring the antelope to come there. We saw fires very near us and we wondered if the Bushmen had followed the game to the north.

361 609 One day we came to a tiny, low forest where we decided to camp for the night. As we searched among the little trees for firewood, we came upon three scherms, three little huts, built by Bushmen and abandoned very recently. The ashes of the fires were still warm. The people who lived there had surely heard us and had run away, leaving many of their possessions behind. We found a pot, burned black from use, a few white beads, a quiver with arrows, and a digging-stick, which is a branch a few feet long with the bark peeled off and the twigs trimmed away, sharpened at one end and used by Bushmen as a spade to break the hard ground when they dig roots. We then found footprints made by the people when they had rushed off in all directions; and later, as we followed the tracks, we even found the prints of hands and knees where someone had crawled hastily across an open place.

411 412 415 301

609 The discovery of these huts made us very hopeful, as we had traveled much farther than we had expected. We felt confident that Gishe, who had been born near our very campsite, would be able to track the people and find them, or that they would be plagued by curiosity and finally visit us. They did not, however; nor did they come back for their possessions, nor was Gishe able to find them. He had been living on a farm for many years and was no longer an expert tracker; and after the night dew had fallen during the evening that we found the werf, the tracks were old.

Of course, it was useless for us to wander around the veld hoping to stumble upon fresh tracks, although we tried the following day without success. We also sent Gishe to look for

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Gai was afraid of us at first. He listened carefully to everything we said, but he would not speak.

Even among her own people Tsetchwe was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

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[P. 112(B)]

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Twikwe was a lanky old woman. She sometimes wound a medicine string around her belly to ward hunger away.

This is Gai's house, this bare sand
under the branch of a tree.

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[p. 112(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 One day the young man killed a little buck and, according to custom, gave most of it to his bride's parents, thus proving that he hunted well and would provide for them and their daughter. With this the engagement was sealed. Shortly after-
585 ward the mothers of the bride and groom built a scherm for the young couple which they furnished with wood and water and enlivened with a fire, kindled by brands from their own fires. Very early the following day the bride's mother adorned
[30] [122] [83] the bride, washing her, hanging white bead ornaments from her hair, rubbing her clothing with red, sweet-smelling powder, a symbol to Bushmen of beauty. Then, sitting her upon one large kaross, they covered her with another and left her to spend the day motionless, waiting for evening, when the union would take place.

788 It is common in Bushman ceremonies for a person at a transitional moment of life to be raised from the ground and hidden from the sun, as though suspended between earth and sky. Young people on the day of their first marriage are protected in this way; so are newborn babies, and so are girls
[84] on the day of their first menstruation. At a funeral, too, the body before burial is covered and raised from the ground, and perhaps all this is because a person is especially susceptible to damage at times of life when change is taking place, when, perhaps, a person is as delicate and fragile as a new moth emerged from a cocoon.

585 [82] 76] Because the sun brings death, no ceremony or part of any ceremony is performed when the sun is strong; but when evening came and the sun itself was dying, the groom was led to his new home by his three brothers, who took him by the hands and pulled him there, forced him, for custom demanded that he show reluctance. The bride, according to custom, refused to go to her husband and had to be picked up by another little girl and carried to him. In the drama of re-

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I sometimes received presents of gum from trees, or soft, sweet caterpillars.

Toma the leader.

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[p. 176(B)]

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

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[p. 176(C)]

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Toma's son, the new owner of Short Kwi's crown of badger hair.

The young musician—the lonely, brooding man who played the guashi.

[p. 176(D)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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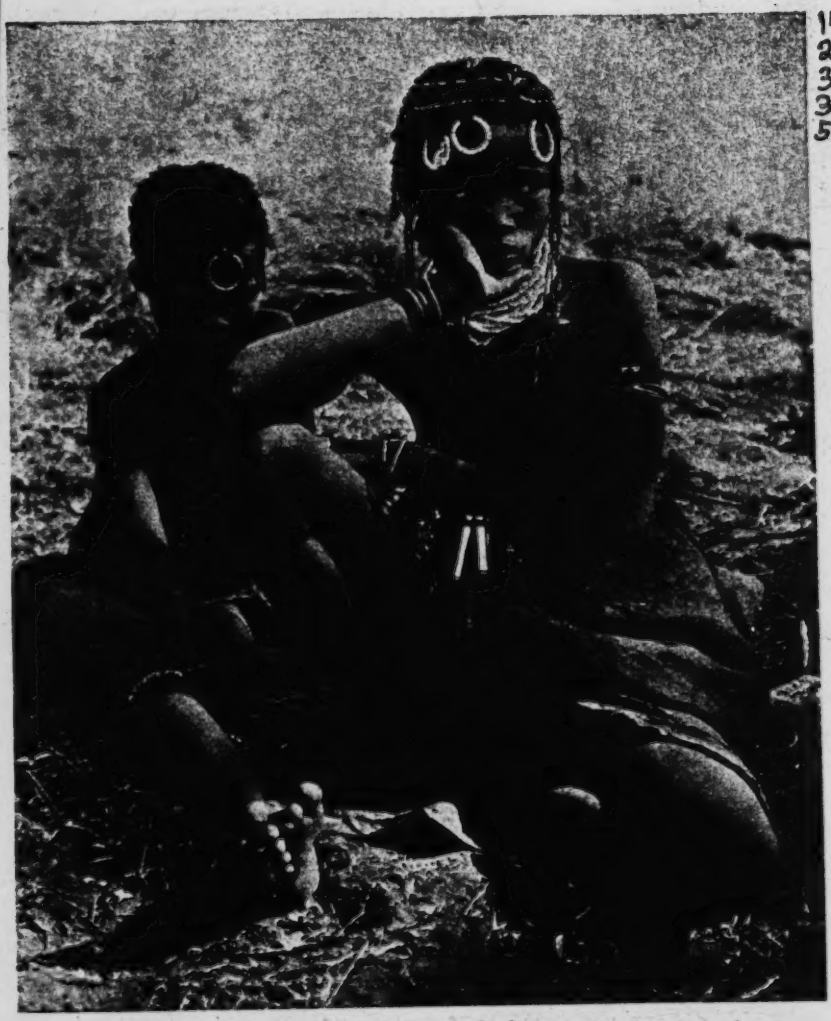

Beautiful Ungka's cousin, and the little girl who was content to follow her and be her handmaiden.

[p. 176(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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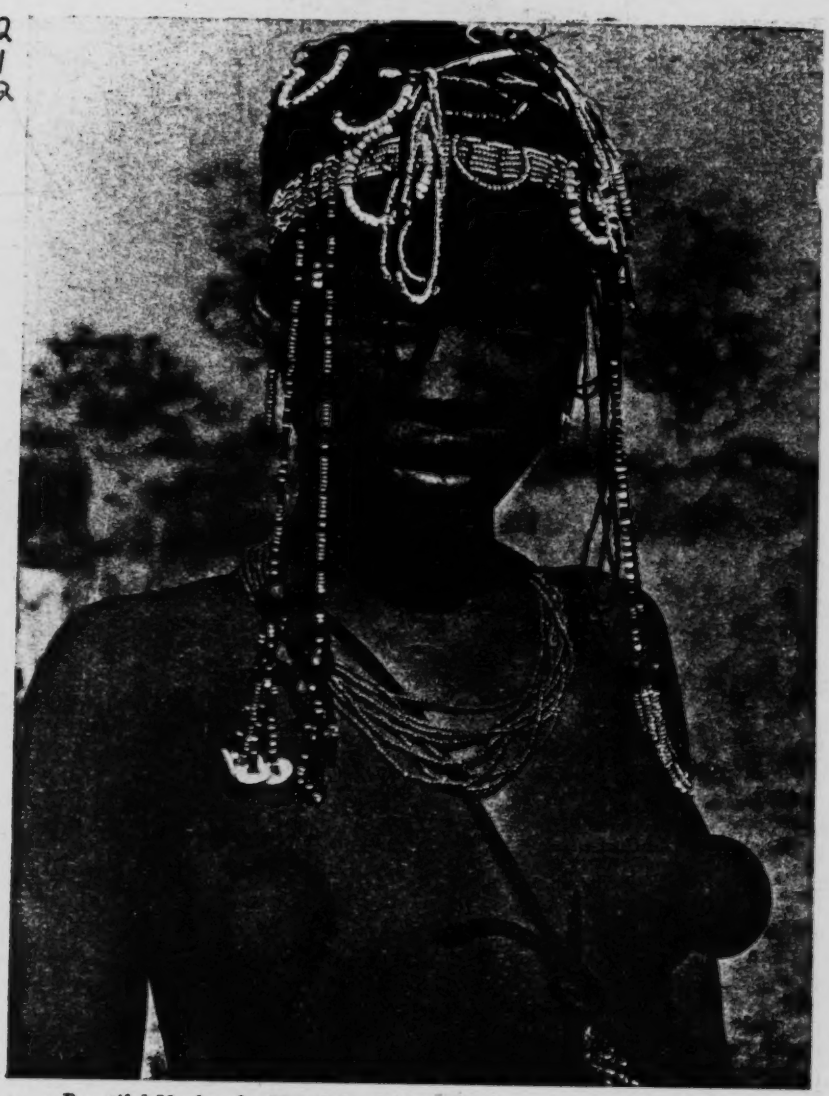

Beautiful Ungka, the lily of the field.

[p. 176 (F)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

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Tu made Norna clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

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[p. 176 (6)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her forehead which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she decorated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children. Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender, graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick. People had despaired of him, believing that he would never be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the headmanship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it, and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he was a man.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

We had met him for the first time at Gautscha. He had come in from the veld one night to visit his brother, and we had met him in the morning. Short Kwi was a young, small man, shorter than his wife and so slender that he looked almost like a child. With long, light feet that took him everywhere, with heavy thighs but light calves like the thin shanks of a greyhound, and with a narrow, deep chest and lungs that never winded, he was obviously built for hunting. In the rainy season when the veld was soft and muddy he often hunted with only a spear and ran the great antelopes down, for though their hooves sunk and split in the mud, causing them eventually to tire, Short Kwi never tired and his strong legs bore him after them relentlessly, sweeping him down the long plains like a wind of death.

His life in the veld seemed lonely, but I doubt that it was; he had his wife, who adored him, for company in the evenings, and although she may have missed companionship more than he did, they were both shy, both quiet, and it may be that they both enjoyed their life apart. Short Kwi hunted most of the time. He would hunt on and on and when word would reach the large band of his wife's family that he had killed, the band would go out to where the animal was, dry the meat, and eat it. When there was enough meat Short Kwi would rest, would relax in the sun, would talk with his wife or make himself a new skin bag or garment, and when word would reach him that all the meat was gone he would move again. The men of his wife's family hunted too, of course, but never as successfully as he, yet his great ability set him so far apart from ordinary mortals that for once the Bushmen forgot their jealousy and agreed that he was the best hunter the Kalahari had ever known.

It is a custom among Bushman hunters to cut strips of skin

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms were covered and heavy with them. Short Kwi himself wore no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ket and revealed a tiny, skinny stick that was his leg wrapped in some kind of rag, bound by a thong that tied the calf to the healthy thigh above, with the black foot showing below, and then he slowly and carefully unwound the thong and then the rag and opened it.

For once the people of Nama had not exaggerated a misfortune. The leg was even worse than they had described, all dead and black at the ankle, and above that, rotted away down to the bone, which was gray now, but while the foot was rotting and dry, the leg was rotting and wet and oozing a little black slime or juice. It was gangrene. A faint stench rose. Those of us who had not seen it had to look away, and Short Kwi, perceiving this, looked calmly down at the ground, at his ruined black leg, and he wrapped the rag around it again, tied his calf to his thigh with the thong, and covered it all with the blanket.

Short Kwi's wife had watched the whole thing with calmness and composure, her hands in her lap, and when the leg was covered she opened one of her hands, revealing a palmful of little white beads, which she began to drop, one by one, into a tiny bag she wore around her neck. With her head bent to see the mouth of the bag she looked very girlish and young; someone said something unusual, an unfamiliar word, and Short Kwi glanced at his wife to see if she had heard it but saw instead what she was doing, and he looked at her with such a deep look of adoration and affection that I wondered how it was she didn't feel it and look up. The word was the word for European doctor, *docteri*, which is not part of the usual vocabulary. Short Kwi's wife had not understood it and when she had finished dropping the beads into the bag she whispered to ask her husband what it meant. He answered her softly, in a masculine, affectionate way, and the other people chimed in, so for a moment everyone was speaking except

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

he had better go anyway. The old woman will just have to cry."

Short Kwi's wife began to put her things in a skin bag. She seemed to be resigned. Short Kwi did not say a word, but he smiled, and he seemed to be in good spirits, ready for whatever might happen to him.

Short Kwi's wife called her daughter and when her daughter came she took one of the child's arms; another woman took the other, and together they stripped off every ornament the daughter wore, every bead string in her hair, every band of antelope skin on her arms, the great wealth of them that once had shown how Short Kwi had hunted, and they did it quickly, cutting some and pulling others although it hurt the little girl and she cried sadly. The two women piled the ornaments in a mound which grew higher and higher, to be left with Tu for safekeeping. Perhaps Short Kwi was resigned to leaving, but we thought then that his wife was not.

When the little girl's arms were stripped completely Short Kwi's wife let her go free to rub the pale stripes that the bands had left and to wipe away her own tears. Short Kwi's wife then stood up to ask us to feed her mother when she came. We said we would.

Everything had happened so quickly that we hadn't had a chance to think or plan, and when we looked at Short Kwi and his wife now and pictured them in the streets of Windhoek, we knew we had to do something, so my mother and I and our interpreter, Ledimo, took Short Kwi's wife aside so that no one would be embarrassed and told her everything we could imagine that she would have to know in order to take care of herself and Short Kwi in the city; we racked our brains and started with the simplest things. We taught her how to open a safety pin; we told her how to find a toilet and

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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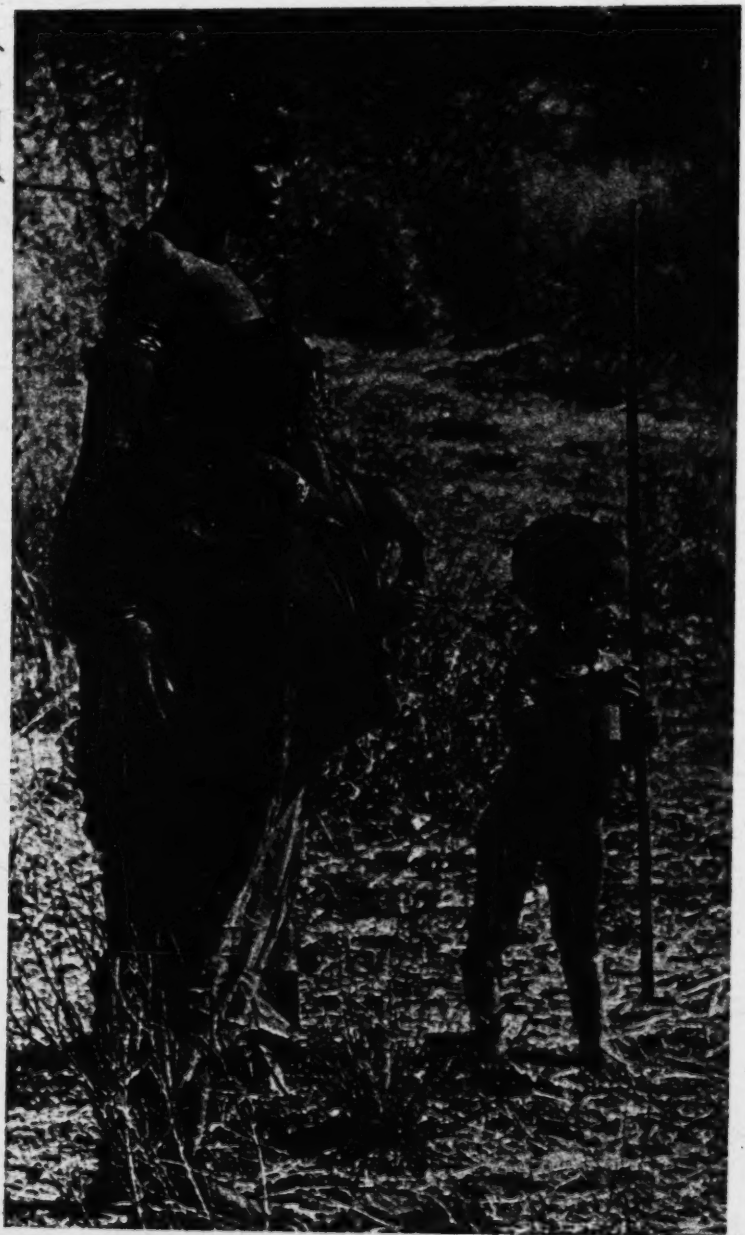

!KUNG MOTHER, collecting near camp, cradles a suckling daughter in a fold of her skin *kaross*, while her toddler son carries along a stick of his own.

Il: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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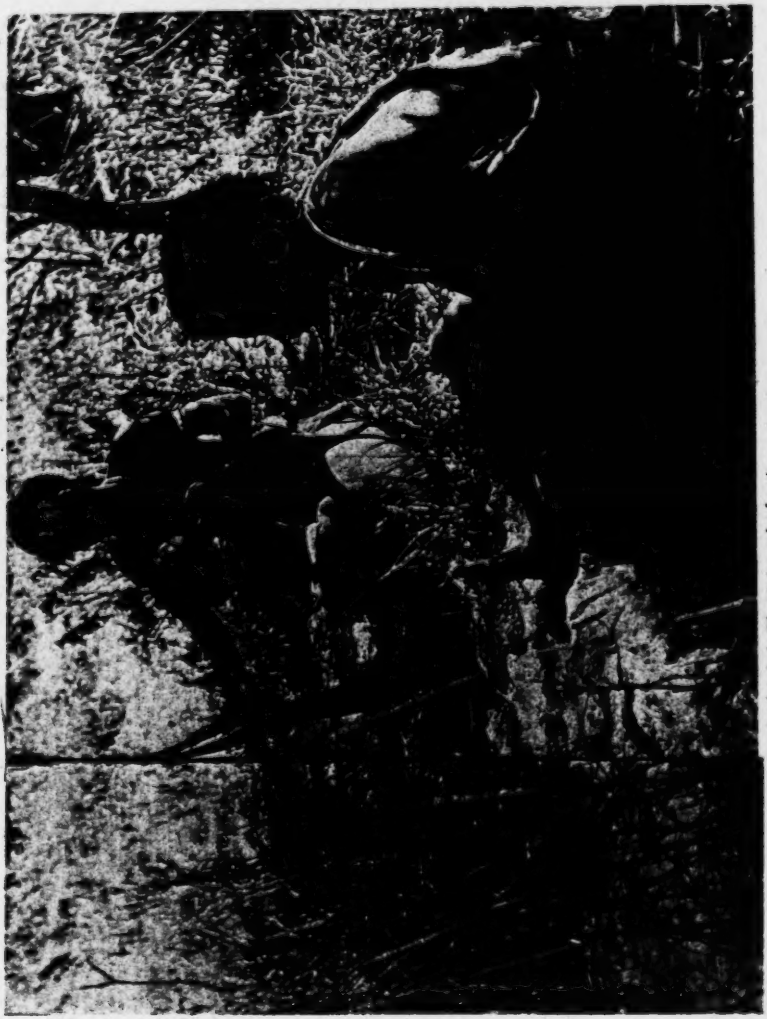

Most roots are dug up for food, but the ones held out, above, are valued for their bark. When it is powdered and rubbed on, it turns the skin red.

[p. 13]

11:Marshall E-S (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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[534]

HUNTER'S LIFE is not all hunger and privation. *Above*, a young !Kung belle amuses herself with stringed instrument.

BUT AGE COMES SOON: bracelets, beads and pendants that adorn this mature !Kung matron contrast with seamed face.

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

FEWNESS OF NUMBERS in desert's vast expanse may help account for characteristic !Kung habit of huddling together in company, as in case of this group of children, *above*. Items of personal adornment – eggshell disks, often in strings with seed beads, and hoops of traded wire – show parental affection.

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[P.23]

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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HUDDLING HABIT is noticeable again in this gathering of women and children as !Kung see it. Well-ornamented child, foreground, is still at breast.

[p. 24]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1958) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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YOUNG MOTHER bows her head as ornament for ear lobe is twisted to shape.

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ship between man and his natural environment. In such a relationship, two directions of cause and effect are implied. These two directions may be understood by two terms—adaption and control. Adaption means the effect wrought by the environment upon the body or the culture of man. Control is the effect wrought upon the environment by man, his body and his culture. In the one case, man conforms to the environment. In the other, man conforms the environment to his needs.

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THERE IS NO ecological situation where either adaptation or control prevails to the exclusion of the other, for the fact of man's presence changes an environment, and the most effective technology, the most developed society, are—in part—responses to an environment. Every ecological relationship is a welter of compromise. Yet, there are extremes. If we take Western technological culture as one extreme—with control prevailing and America the exponent—the !Kung might be considered the opposite extreme, for the !Kung control their environment scarcely at all.

To the !Kung, in their environment, there are available a certain number of natural resources, in a certain geographical pattern. There are also available a certain number of !Kung. They have a culture. Living within their culture, they are able to exploit their environment. The first aspect of this ecological relationship is the fairly obvious relationship between !Kung technology and environment.

[p. 34]

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to a thong. When lived upon, the veld earth soon turns to dust, as seen here. In the rains of the coming year, the rank veld grass will have grown again across the floor of the deserted *werfi*—to toss in the passing, desert winds.

[p. 77]

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!Kung parents cherish the children to raise. A mother, above, fits ornamental headband to her small daughter. their harsh environment permits them

FATHERS TAKE PRIDE in their growing sons, to whom will pass both the task of hunting for the band and the many skills and traditions of !Kung hunters.

[p. 84]

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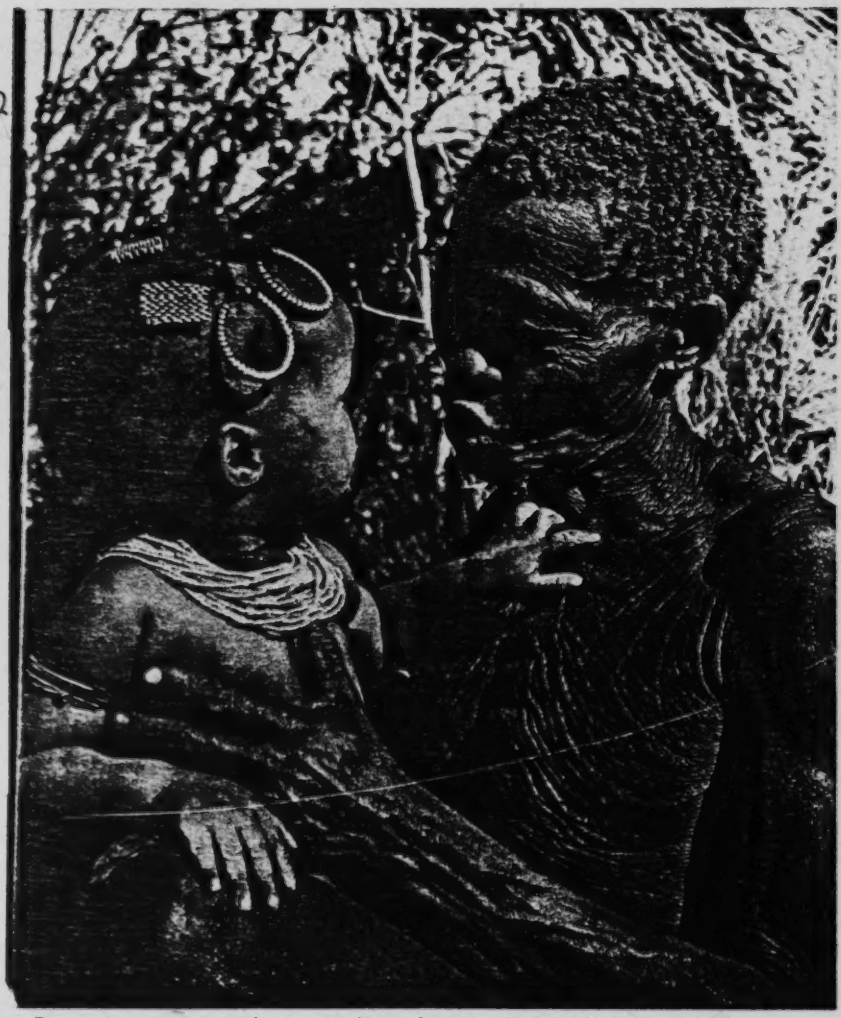

THE ROAD FROM YOUTH TO AGE is a short one among these desert dwellers, as witness the father and daughter here. It is a sparse life, and the hunter who can count twelve antelope killed in a year feels he has had a good season.

[p.86]

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12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

FIG. 1. The clustered scherms of a /Kung werf (left) are hardly visible in the grass and brush of the veld

FIG. 2. Groups from Band 1 and visitors sitting at three family fires

FIG. 3. Khoan/a thinking things over after 'the talk'

FIG. 4. /U, the wife of ≠Toma, with an expression which is characteristic of her

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FIG. 5. Old /Gam making ostrich egg-shell beads. Some cowrie shells from the South Seas (via New York) dangle among her ornaments

FIG. 6. Powers of observation are highly trained. This girl had seen, in the tangle of grass, a dry, hair-thin, brown vine stem which revealed that there was an edible root to be dug

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FIG. 7. Talking in the afternoon

FIG. 8. ≠Toma laughing

[p. 240-B]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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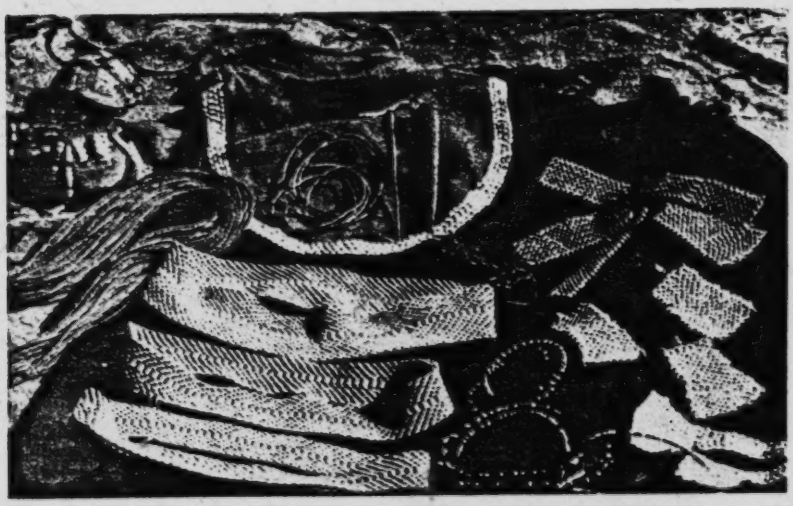

FIG. 18. Traditional /Kung women's ornaments. The genital apron (upper middle) has a border of ostrich egg-shell beads sewn on. Some traded wire, an awl, and a sheath for the awl lie on it. The head-bands are of three widths. The tortoise-shell cosmetic containers (for sweet-smelling *sa* powder) are ornamented with beads. There is a roll of fibre cord (left). The bead head ornaments (to the right) are associated with sex. The rectangular ones are said to be male; the triangular ones female

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FIG. 19. A girl wears a headband made of traded beads around her head and a traditional Bushman ostrich egg-shell bead headband around her neck. Her bracelets (lower arm) are made of grass and of vegetable fibre cord

FIG. 20. The upper arm armlets with tabs are made from forehead hide of large animals which a young hunter has killed for his bride. Those from male bucks are worn on the young woman's right arm; those from female bucks on the left

[P.240-F]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

301 431 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads, especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *//gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among [438] themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg 439 shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to 435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants 439 said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1932 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that ' a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-
[439] points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements.
[440] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not [458] everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

296 431 Tobacco they need ' to make the heart feel better '. Oddly enough for these passionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 431 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people

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A Headman ~~+~~Toma is the leader of the main Guatscha band.

142 males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age. They have very little facial and body hair, and their short, black, head hair is so curly it spirals into peppercorn tufts. The Bushman face is flat and triangular; the brown eyes are set rather wide apart. A variety of eye folds narrow the apertures of the eyes. The nose is extremely broad with a very low bridge, the lips are everted but not protruding or only slightly so, and the ear is somewhat square in shape with a deeply rolled rim (helix). The Bushman body and limbs are slender; the frame is delicate. A notable feature is the inward curve of the small of the back. The penis is semierect. In women there is what is called the "Hottentot apron" (elongation of the *labia minora*). Steatopygia (fat on the buttocks) is invariably mentioned in the literature as one of the important physical characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot women and recorded as being very prominently developed in some. By comparison with the extreme examples that are seen among some Hottentot women and in illustrations, the northern and central Bushman women whom we observed did not have marked steatopygia, although some had buttocks that could be called plump.

197 LANGUAGE • Bushman languages and those of the Hottentots are classified as a language family known as Click or Khoisan (Greenberg 1955:80). [194] Clicks are so unusual as to be almost unique to Bushman and Hottentot (they occur also in two East African languages—Sandawe and Hatsa—according to Greenberg) and are so distinguishing a feature of these languages that much attention is given them.

194 The Khoisan clicks, striking implosive sounds, are velaric suction stops 197 (Heffner 1960:119; cf. Beach 1938:73 ff.). The northern and central Bushman languages have four, made with the tongue, as follows: the dental (/), lateral (//), alveolar (!), and palatal (~~+~~). The southern Bushman lan-

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

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462 when the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always accompany the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater portion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging implement is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

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The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes, pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

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731 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

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582 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the *tsi* out of the ashes.

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choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of *"kai kai kai."*

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

[p. 272]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy.

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband step-brother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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gathered and eaten. With one exception all other birds eggs were ignored. The exception was the ostrich eggs which were highly prized as water containers and as material for making ostrich egg shell beads.

Reptiles and Amphibians

Only four species of reptile - two tortoises, one leguaan, and the rock python - were regarded by the Bushmen as edible. One species of frog, Pixiecephalus sp. was regarded as edible. Of these five species, the large leopard tortoise (Geochelone pardalis) is the most important food. These tortoises weigh 5-8 pounds. They are sluggish and easily collected. For this reason, the tortoises were the only species of vertebrate that were collected by the women. All other vertebrates were the exclusive concern of the men.

The rock python, a large non-poisonous snake, was regularly collected by the men. This provided c. 25 lbs. of meat per specimen. The pythons collected varied in length from 8-15 feet. The other three species were rarely observed to be eaten.

Invertebrates

Insects have traditionally been considered by ethnographers to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951:137-195). However, among the Bushmen of the Dobe area insects played a minor role in the diet. One species of antlion and three

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders, more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments. Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10

well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Mamaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.
[2] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290
[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.
[4] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.
[5] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.
[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.
[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.
[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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[facing p. 118]

L. Fourie

GROUP OF AUEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN
Notice the clothing and ornaments, and the mode of carrying the babies

[face p. 118

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

L. Fouris

AUEN GIRL

L. Fouris

NARON WOMAN IN CEREMONIAL DRESS OF BEADWORK

[facing p. 122]

[face p. 122

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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PLATE XI

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a b c d

British Museum

BUSHMAN ORNAMENTS AND UTENSILS

a. Serpentine and Bone Pipes
b. Bone awl
c. Waistband of Ostrich egg-shell beads
d. Tortoise-shell box for holding *buchu*

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L. Fouris

BUSHMAN SNARE FOR HUNTING GAME

[*face p.* 138]